

## Message Text

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12

ACTION EUR-12

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R 281100Z MAR 75  
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4072  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE  
AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
USMISSION NATO  
AMCONSUL KRAKOW  
AMCONSUL POZNAN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 WARSAW 1832

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y P A R A 1 S U B S C A N D D

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, US, PL  
SUBJECT: ANNUAL US POLICY ASSESSMENT FOR POLAND

REF: (A) STATE 9732; (B) STATE 32826

1. OUR POLICY OBJECTIVES AS STATED IN EUROPARA POLAND 1973  
REMAIN VALID. WE CAN BEST FURTHER THEM DURING 1975 BY TAKING  
THE FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

(A) MAKE CLEAR TO POLAND OUR DESIRE TO CONTINUE AT THE HIGH-  
EST LEVELS THE POLITICAL DIALOGUE WHICH BEGAN WITH THE WASH-  
INGTON MEETINGS BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND FIRST SECRETARY  
GIEREK. WE SHOULD PROCEED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE WITH A RETURN  
VISIT TO POLAND BY PRESIDENT FORD. GIEREK AND OTHERS IN THE  
POLISH HIERARCHY HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD  
RECEIVE AN EXTREMELY WARM WELCOME HERE.

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(B) WE SHOULD ALSO PROCEED WITH OTHER HIGH-LEVEL VISITS, KEYED

WHENEVER POSSIBLE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE GIEREK-VISIT AGREEMENTS AND TO THE FURTHERANCE OF POLAND'S POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT WITH THE UNITED STATES. WE HAVE EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE KAZIMIERZ BARCIKOWSKI, WHO IS ALSO A CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBIURO, TO VISIT THE UNITED STATES THIS YEAR. WE SHOULD INVITE VICE PREMIER AND MINISTER OF CULTURE AND ART JOZEF TEJCHMA, ANOTHER CANDIDATE MEMBER OF THE POLITBIURO, TO THE UNITED STATES IN 1976 IN CONNECTION WITH OUR BICENTENNIAL CELEBRATION. OTHER MINISTERIAL VISITS WHICH SHOULD BE GIVEN SERIOUS CONSIDERATION WITHIN THE NEXT YEAR ARE THOSE OF MINISTER OF MINING AND POWER JAN KULPINSKI, MINISTER OF SCIENCE, HIGHER EDUCATION AND TECHNOLOGY SYLWESTER KALISKI, AND MINISTER OF THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY MACIEJ WIROWSKI.

(C) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO URGE POLAND TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES AS A MEMBER OF THE ICCS FOR VIET-NAM IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE PARIS AGREEMENT. AS A RESULT OF OUR REPRESENTATIONS DURING 1974, THE POLES HAVE SHOWN GREATER CANDOR IN DISCUSSING ICCS PROBLEMS AND THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM, BUT THERE WAS NO SIGNIFICANT IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR PERFORMANCE.

(D) WE SHOULD EMPLOY OUR INCREASING ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL INVOLVEMENT WITH POLAND IN AN EFFORT TO OFFSET TO SOME DEGREE INCREASED SOVIET ECONOMIC LEVERAGE AND TO DEMONSTRATE THE BENEFITS TO BE GAINED FROM CONTINUATION OF THE MORE PRAGMATIC APPROACH POLAND HAS ADOPTED IN RECENT YEARS TOWARD THE MANAGEMENT OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. WE SHOULD USE OUR RADIO, INFORMATION, EXCHANGE-PROGRAM, AND EXHIBIT ASSETS TO PRESENT OBJECTIVE EVIDENCE OF THE BENEFITS TO THE POLISH PEOPLE OF THIS MORE OPEN POLICY. POLICY GUIDANCE TO ALL GOVERNMENT AGENCIES IN THIS RESPECT SHOULD BE CLEAR, FIRM, AND ENFORCED. FOR EXAMPLE, SOME OF RFE'S BROADCASTING DURING AND AFTER GIEREK'S VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES WAS AT VARIANCE WITH U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE VISIT,

(E) WE SHOULD WORK FOR A CONTINUED EXPANSION OF U.S. EXPORTS TO POLAND, WHICH HAVE GROWN FROM \$111 MILLION IN 1972 TO \$396 MILLION IN 1974. LAST YEAR BROUGHT PROMISING CHANGES IN THE COMPOSITION OF OUR BILATERAL TRADE, AS SALES OF U.S. -MANUFACTURED GOODS MORE THAN TRIPLED. PROSPECTS ARE GOOD FOR A CON-

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TINUED HIGH VOLUME OF U.S. EXPORTS, BUT THE POLISH FOREIGN-TRADE DEFICIT, WHICH WE ESTIMATE AT \$2 BILLION FOR 1974, IS PRODUCING PRESSURE FOR NEW SALES STRATEGIES BY U.S. EXPORTERS. WE SHOULD SEEK TO MANAGE CURRENT AND FUTURE DISPUTES OVER DUMPING CHARGES, TEXTILE-IMPORT RESTRICTIONS, AND CIVIL-AIR MATTERS SO AS TO MINIMIZE THEIR NEGATIVE EFFECT ON POLANDS PERCEPTION OF THE U.S. AS A RELIABLE TRADING PARTNER.

(F) WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE AN INCREASED U.S. COMMERCIAL PRESENCE.

THIRTEEN AMERICAN FIRMS HAVE NOW OPENED OFFICES IN WARSAW; MOST ARE DAILY CONTACT WITH REAL AND POTENTIAL END- USERS OF THEIR PRODUCTS, AS WELL AS WITH MINISTRIES AND FOREIGN-TRADE ORGANIZATIONS. THE JOINT US-POLISH ECONOMIC COUNCIL, ESTABLISHED DURING THE VISIT OF FIRST SECRETARY GIEREK TO THE U.S., SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO PLAN AN ACTIVE ROLE IN TRADE PROMOTION AND THE RESOLUTION OF BUSINESS-FACILITIES ISSUES.

(G) WE SHOULD SUPPORT EXPORT-IMPORT BANK FINANCING AT THE MOST ADVANTAGEOUS POSSIBLE COMBINATIONS OF INTEREST RATES AND LOAN COVERAGE IN ORDER TO IMPROVE THE COMPETITIVE POSITIONS OF U.S. FIRMS CURRENTLY NEGOTIATING WITH POLISH ENTERPRISES ON PROJECTS WITH A TOTAL VALUE OF NEARLY ONE BILLION DOLLARS. U.S. EXPORTERS ARE COMPETING IN THIS MARKET WITH EUROPEAN FIRMS WHICH CAN OFTEN PROVIDE FINANCING, WITH THE SUPPORT OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS, AT RATES OF INTEREST BELOW 7 PERCENT.

(H) WE URGE THE RENEWAL OF THE CURRENT CCC CREDIT LINE WHICH WILL OTHERWISE EXPIRE IN JUNE, 1975. WE ALSO RECOMMEND THAT WHEAT BE MADE ELIGIBLE FOR CCC CREDIT. THIS ACTION WOULD HELP OUR EXPORTERS COMPETE WITH THE CANADIANS. THE CANADIAN WHEAT BOARD IS FINANCING GRAIN SALES HERE UNDER A THREE-YEAR AGREEMENT WHICH RUNS THROUGH 1976. U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS, WHICH CONTINUE TO BE THE MAJOR COMPONENT OF OUR SALES TO POLAND, HAVE BEEN FACILITATED BY THE AVAILABILITY OF CCC CREDITS.

(I) THE OCTOBER, 1974, AGREEMENTS ON JOINT FINANCING OF PL-480 SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH WILL BE IN FULL OPERATION DURING 1975. WE WILL WORK TO RESOLVE REMAINING ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS CONCERNING THE NEW JOINT FUND AND TO INSURE THAT THE U.S. DERIVES MAXIMUM BENEFITS FROM ITS WORK IN IMPORTANT SCIENTIFIC FIELDS, INCLUDING COAL RESEARCH AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION.

(J) THE POLISH REQUEST FOR A PL-480 ROLLOVER SHOULD BE MET IN 1975 THROUGH NEGOTIATION OF A PHASE-OUT OF THE 1968 ANNUITY AGREEMENT IN RETURN FOR A PARTIAL DEFERRAL OF POLISH OBLIGATIONS TO REPURCHASE US-OWNED PL-480 ZLOTYS FOR DOLLARS.

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ANY AGREEMENT SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO SAFEGUARD THE INTERESTS OF U.S. ANNUITY HOLDERS NOW RESIDING IN POLAND.

(K) ALTHOUGH THE POLISH GOVERNMENT HAS MADE IT RELATIVELY EASY FOR ITS CITIZENS TO OBTAIN PASSPORTS FOR VISITS TO WESTERN COUNTRIES, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. ITS POLICY ON ISSUING EMIGRATION PASSPORTS IS UNDULY RESTRICTIVE. WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO APPLY PRESSURE FOR A MORE LIBERAL EMIGRATION-PASSPORT POLICY THROUGH REPRESENTATIONS IN WARSAW AND IN WASHINGTON. WE WILL CONTINUE TO CONCENTRATE ON THE CASES OF CLOSE RELATIVES OF UNITED STATES CITIZENS AND PERMANENT RESIDENTS. EIGHT DIPLOMATIC NOTES CONTAINING REPRESENTATIONS ON BEHALF OF 1,532 INDIVIDUALS HAVE BEEN DELIVERED IN 1974 AND 1975. OUR NEAR-TERM

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SP-02 MMS-01 /016 W

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R 281100Z MAR 75

FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4073

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USMISSION NATO

AMCONSUL KRAKOW

AMCONSUL POZNAN

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 WARSAW 1832

OBJECTIVE IS A RETURN TO ISSUANCE OF A MINIMUM OF 6,000 - 7,000 EMIGRANT VISAS ANNUALLY, A FIGURE COMPARABLE TO THE RATE OF ISSUANCE IN THE EARLY 1960'S AND ONE WHICH EXCEEDS THE CURRENT RATE OF NEW APPLICATIONS. IN 1974, 2,169 SUCH VISAS WERE ISSUED IN POLAND. THE OUTCOME OF NEGOTIATIONS ON "BASKET THREE" AT THE CSCE MAY PROVIDE USEFUL LEVERAGE ON THIS ISSUE.

(L) WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MORE BALANCED PRESS COVERAGE IN POLAND BY MAINTAINING A CONSTANT CAMPAIGN OF CONTACTS AND DISCUSSION WITH LEADING POLISH EDITORS AND WRITERS. IN ADDITION, WE SHOULD CONTINUE SELECTING OUTSTANDING JOURNALISTS AND WRITERS FOR TRAVEL GRANTS TO THE U.S. DIRECT EXPOSURE OF INFLUENTIAL JOURNALISTS TO AMERICAN LIFE AND INSTITUTIONS HAS LED TO MORE OBJECTIVE INTERPRETATION OF OUR NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL POLICIES BY MANY POLISH JOURNALISTS.

(M) WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT DIRECT UNIVERSITY-TO-UNIVERSITY AGREEMENTS BETWEEN LEADING AMERICAN AND POLISH ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS. AN AGREEMENT BETWEEN INDIANA AND WARSAW UNIVERSITIES SIGNED DURING 1974 CALLS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SECRET

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AN AMERICAN STUDIES CENTER AT WARSAW UNIVERSITY; WE ARE WORKING TO OPEN THIS CENTER IN OCTOBER, 1975.

(N) WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE FULLEST GOP INVOLVEMENT IN U.S. LOCAL AND REGIONAL BICENTENNIAL PROGRAMS, AND ASSIST IN SYMPOSIA, CULTURAL PRESENTATIONS, AND OTHER COMMORATIVE ACTIVITIES IN POLAND LINKED TO THE BICENTENNIAL. POLISH COOPERATION BEGINS MOST SUSPICIOUSLY WITH THE OPENING IN WARSAW IN MAY, 1975, OF THE AMERICAN BICENTENNIAL EXHIBIT, "THE AGE OF FRANKLIN AND JEFFERSON."

(O) WE WILL CONTINUE TO REPRESENT THE INTEREST OF AMERICAN JEWISH GROUPS IN THE PROTECTION OF JEWISH CEMETARIES IN POLAND. IN 1974, WE RECEIVED ASSURANCES FROM THE MFA THAT A NUMBER OF THESE WOULD BE DESIGNATED HISTORICAL MONUMENTS AND THAT THE WARSAW SYNAGOGUE WOULD BE RESTORED. WE ARE PREPARED TO MAKE APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATIONS AS REQUIRED TO HOLD POLISH OFFICIALS TO THEIR PROMISES.

2. ESTIMATE OF RESOURCES NEEDED. WITH A FEW GLARING EXCEPTIONS, THE EMBASSY AND THE TWO CONSTITUENT CONSULATES ARE STAFFED TO PURSUE THE PRECEDING SPECIFIC ACTIONS. OUR MOST PRESSING NEED REMAINS ANOTHER POLITICAL OFFICER. THE POLITICAL SECTION, REDUCED BY ONE POSITION IN 1972, HAS BEEN HANDLING A GREATLY INCREASED WORKLOAD BECAUSE OF THE GROWING ACTIVITY AND IMPORTANCE OF POLAND IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AS THE SECOND LARGEST EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRY, WHICH FREQUENTLY TAKES THE LEAD FOR THE WARSAW PACT NATIONS IN POLITICAL MATTERS OF INTEREST TO US. OUR INCREASED POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL ENGAGEMENT WITH THE POLES PROVIDES ALMOST UNLIMITED OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEVELOPING VALUABLE CONTACTS AND REPORTING ON SIGNIFICANT NEW DEVELOPMENTS ON THE POLISH POLITICAL SCENE. THESE COULD BE BETTER EXPLOITED BY A POLITICAL SECTION THE SIZE OF THE ONE WARSAW HAD THREE YEARS AGO.

3. ASSISTED BY AN AMERICAN SECRETARY AND TWO LOCAL EMPLOYEES, THE SCIENCE ATTACHE MUST NEGOTIATE THE DETAILS OF THE NEW JOINT FUND WHILE CONTINUING TO SUPERVISE THE EXECUTION OF HUNDREDS OF EXISTING PROJECTS AND DEALING WITH A VERY HEAVY VISITOR LOAD. HE HAS VIRTUALLY UNLIMITED ACCESS TO THE POLISH SCIENTIFIC COMMUNITY, BUT ALMOST NO TIME TO REPORT WHAT HE  
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LEARNS. A THIRD AMERICAN IN THIS SECTION WOULD BE A PRUDENT INVESTMENT OF U.S. GOVERNMENT RESOURCES.

4. THERE IS ALSO A DEMONSTRATED NEED FOR AN AMERICAN SECRE-

TARY FOR THE SECURITY OFFICER, WHO MUST NOW UTILIZE THE HELP OF THE PERSONNEL ASSISTANT, THE ONLY AMERICAN TYPIST IN THE ADMINISTRATIVE SECTION.

5. WE ARE AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTY INVOLVED IN OBTAINING ADDITIONAL POSITIONS. THIS DOES NOT ALTER THE FACT THAT IN TWO KEY AREAS WE LACK SUFFICIENT STAFF TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES WE NOW HAVE IN POLAND.

6. IN FY 1975, THE MISSION OPERATED AT A TOTAL COST OF \$3,451,700. INCLUDED IN THIS TOTAL WAS A STATE DEPARTMENT CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAM ALLOTMENT OF \$569,000. ALTHOUGH OUR FY 1976 FIELD-BUDGET ESTIMATE IS NOT YET PREPARED, IT IS CLEAR THAT OUR OPERATIONS IN POLAND WILL BE AT LEAST 10 PERCENT MORE EXPENSIVE NEXT YEAR BECAUSE OF LOCAL INFLATION, WHICH THE GOP HAS ACKNOWLEDGED AS HAVING BEEN 6 PERCENT IN 1974 AND WHICH IS INCREASING RAPIDLY IN 1975.

7. COMMENT: IN PURSUING OUR STATED OBJECTIVES, WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THAT POLAND'S REALISTIC PERCEPTION OF THE EAST-WEST BALANCE OF POWER PRECLUDES ITS TAKING ACTIONS WHICH WOULD BRING ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION INTO JEOPARDY. POLAND IS DEPENDENT UPON THE SOVIET UNION FOR MANY OF ITS VITAL RESOURCES, INCLUDING ALL OF ITS IRON ORE AND NEARLY ALL OF ITS OIL. THE RECENT SHARP INCREASE IN SOVIET OIL PRICES TO POLAND AND THE OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES AND THE PROSPECT INHERENT IN THIS ACTION OF ADDITIONAL FUTURE PRICE INCREASES ON OIL AND OTHER SOVIET RESOURCES ON WHICH POLAND IS DEPENDENT DEMONSTRATE SOVIET ECONOMIC LEVERAGE ON POLAND. NEVERTHELESS, POLAND CAN PLAY A USEFUL ROLE AS A MODERATING AND WESTERNIZING INFLUENCE ON THE SOVIET UNION. WE SHOULD NOT EXPECT POLAND TO CHALLENGE THE SOVIET UNION OPENLY. HOWEVER, TO THE DEGREE THAT WE CAN KEEP POLAND INTERESTED IN AN IMPROVED AND ECONOMICALLY BENEFICIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES, WE CAN HELP HER TO SEE THAT HER OWN INTERESTS ARE BEST SERVED BY A FOREIGN POLICY WHICH DEMONSTRATES NUANCES OF POLITICAL AUTONOMY.

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8. DESTABILIZING EVENTS WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE OVERTHROW OF THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP WOULD NOT BE LIKELY TO SERVE OUR INTERESTS. GIEREK'S POLICIES HAVE BEEN CONSUMER-ORIENTED INTERNALLY AND WESTWARD-LOOKING IN FOREIGN POLICY TO A DEGREE FAR SURPASSING THOSE OF HIS PREDECESSOR. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY SERIOUS CHALLENGE TO THESE POLICIES WITHIN THE PARTY HIERARCHY AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, THE GIEREK LEADERSHIP IS STILL BALANCING ON THE RAZOR'S EDGE IN ITS ATTEMPT TO SATISFY THE RISING EXPECTATIONS OF POLAND'S RESTLESS WORKERS. THE RECENT UGLY PUBLIC MOOD BECAUSE OF MEAT SHORTAGES (FEBRUARY, 1975) SERVED

NOTICE ON GIEREK THAT THE WORKERS INTEND TO HOLD HIM TO HIS PROMISE OF A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING. THE SOVIETS PROBABLY ALSO WISH TO SEE INTERNAL STABILITY IN POLAND PRESERVED AND VIEW GIEREK AS THE BEST INSTRUMENT FOR ACCOMPLISHING THIS. THEREFORE, IT SEEMS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT THEY ARE LIKELY TO EMPLOY THEIR ECONOMIC LEVERAGE WITH RESTRAINT.

9. DESPITE THE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH LIMIT GIEREK'S POLITICAL MANEUVERABILITY, HIS POSITION STILL SEEMS TO BE SOLID AND HIS LEADERSHIP ASSURED FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE. THERE IS EVERY REASON TO EXPECT THAT HE WILL VIEW INCREASED POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ENGAGEMENT WITH THE U.S. AS SERVING THE INTERESTS OF HIS GOVERNMENT. THUS, THE ATMOSPHERE APPEARS FAVORABLE IN 1975 FOR IMPLEMENTING THE RECOMMENDATIONS CONTAINED IN THIS ASSESSMENT.

DAVIES

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## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
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